#### WEEKEND READING FOR THE PRESIDENT

April 4 - 5, 1970 REFER TO DOS

## Contents

### DOS reviewed. Unclassfied. Release in full

# US, USSR, and EUROPE

- 1. Timothy W. Stanley, A Conference on European Security? Problems, Prospects, and Pitfalls, February 1970.
  - <u>a.</u> "The Current Scene: Summary of Conclusions." (8 pp.)
  - b. "IV. Conclusions: Options for the West."
    (11 pp.)

Included here are the introductory and concluding sections from an excellent recent study of the problems, prospects, and risks of current proposals for a conference on European security. The author, currently at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, has served in the Defense Department and at the US Mission to NATO. One of his conclusions is that the Warsaw Pact proposals for a conference are "basically irrelevant to the persistent issues of security in Europe." A second conclusion is that for a variety of reasons the West should nevertheless adopt "a forward policy of movement" on the issues, bearing in mind the pitfalls as well as the possible advantages. He proposes a number of specific initiatives which the NATO allies could take.

2. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., "Superpower-Ally Relationships: The United States-NATO-Europe," Paper prepared for the 4th International Arms Control Symposium, Philadelphia, October 17-19, 1969. (18 pp.)

A professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania puts forward a series of general propositions about the impact of superpower arms talks like SALT on relations between a superpower and its allies. Either the success or failure of SALT, he concludes, will accelerate changes in the alliance relationship. A useful discussion of European interests and concerns.

# VIETNAM

3. Robert G. Kaiser, "Hanoi Defector Feels Guilt and Pride," Washington Post, March 27, 1970. (5 pp.)

An interesting account of the contradictory emotions of a 21-year-old North Vietnamese soldier who rallied to the Government in February. Denied membership in the North Vietnamese Workers Party because his father had been a small landowner, he had gradually concluded that he had no future in the North Vietnamese army, and he was disturbed by the contradictions he observed between what he saw in the South as a soldier and what he had been told. But he remains uncertain in his feelings about the South Vietnamese Government and about Americans.

# SEABEDS

4. Jerry Landauer, "Sharing the Wealth: Nixon Is Urged to Yield Some Ocean-Floor Oil to Help World's Poor," Wall Street Journal, March 27, 1970. (2 pp.)

A brief and generally accurate account of the different conceptions of our national interest held by different US Government agencies and the US oil industry on current seabeds issues. The oil industry is concerned with extending national sovereignty far from shore, in order to tap the ocean depths further off the coast of the US. The Defense Department is concerned with expanding the range and free lom of action of US ships on the high seas and in strategic straits, and has therefore supported a narrower zone of sovereignty and a broader international regime for the seabeds.

5. "The Oceans: Whose Hunting Preserve?" Forbes, March 15, 1970. (5 pp.)

A useful discussion of the economic stakes in the seabeds dispute. The dispute is taking place on the eve of a worldwide boom in ocean-floor mineral exploitation. Some consider the US oil industry short-sighted, since it seems to prefer exclusive access to the seabeds off the US coast over freer international access to seabeds near all the rest of the world's coasts. On the other hand, there are economic and political advantages in the pursuit of cil off the US coast which may outweigh the value of access to other nations' continental shelves.

# US FOREIGN POLICY

6. Michael A. Guhin, "Dulles' Thoughts on International Politics: Myth and Reality." Orbis, Fall 1969. (25 pp.)

An interesting article by a member of my staff discussing and disputing the popular image of John Foster Dulles as a legalist and moralist in his approach to international relations. Guhin traces Dulles' intellectual development over the course of his career and analyzes the positions he took and defended as Secretary of State; he concludes that Dulles was a pragmatist and a realist, not an inflexible ideologue.

### THE AMERICAN LEFT

7. Robert Brustein, "Revolution as Theatre,"
The New Republic, March 14, 1970. (5 pp.)

Robert Brustein, theatre critic and dean of the Yale Drama School, observes that the activities of the young "revolutionaries" of contemporary America are better suited to analysis by a theatre critic than by a political scientist. He sees American radicals as enamored of moral posturing, extravagant rhetoric, and theatrical spectacle, partly because avenues of constructive change are closed off, but partly also because the radicals lack a coherent ideology and because the media are able and willing to provide opportunities for precisely this sort of activity. The Administration need not worry, he says, for little has come of it except entertainment.